1;Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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committed; I have been myself a witness to those scenes, and to the distresses of hundreds of poor people, only in this one quarter.

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A work, entitled: "An Enquiry into the Causes of the "Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians "from the British Interest," written by Charles Thompson, Esq. and printed in London, in 1759, which some time since fell into my hands, well merits to be read with attention, on account of the correctness of the information that it contains.

By this time, the Delawares were sensible of the imposition which had been practised upon them. They saw that a plan had been organised for their destruction, and that not only their independence, but their very existence, was at stake; they therefore took measures to defend themselves, by abandoning the system of neutrality into which they had been insidiously drawn.

It was not without difficulty that I obtained from them these interesting details, for they felt ashamed of their own conduct; they were afraid of being charged with cowardice, or at least with want of forethought, in having acted as they did, and not having discovered their error until it was too late.

And yet, in my opinion, those fears were entirely groundless, and there appears nothing in their whole conduct disparaging to the courage and high sense of honour of that brave nation. Let us for a moment place ourselves in the situation of the Delawares, Mohicans, and the other tribes connected with them, at the time when the Europeans first landed on New-York Island. They were then in the height of their glory, pursuing their successes against the Iroquois, with whom they had long been at war. They were in possession of the whole country, from the sea coast to the Mississippi, from the River St. Lawrence to the frontier of Carolina, while the habitations of their enemies did not extend far beyond the great Lakes. In this situation, they are on

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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an essential service to point out the means of avoiding those deceptions, which if not sufficiently guarded against, will at last destroy all belief in the accounts given by travellers of distant nations and of manners and customs different from our own.

The first and most important thing for a traveller is a competent knowledge of the language of the people among whom he is. Without this knowledge it is impossible that he can acquire a correct notion of their manners and customs and of the opinions which prevail among them. There is little faith to be placed in those numerous vocabularies of the languages of distant nations which are to be found in almost every book of voyages or travels; they are generally full of the most ridiculous mistakes; at least (for I must speak only of what I know) those which relate to the Indian languages of North America. I was some years ago shewn a vocabulary* of the idiom of the Indians who inhabited the banks of the Delaware, while Pennsylvania was under the dominion of the Swedes, which idiom was no other than the pure Unami dialect of the Lenape, and I could hardly refrain from laughing at the numerous errors that I observed in it; for instance, the Indian word given for *hand*, in fact means *finger*. This is enough to shew how carelessly those vocabularies are made, and how little their authors are acquainted with the languages that they pretend to teach.

The cause of these mistakes may be easily accounted for. When pointing to a particular object you ask an Indian how it is called, he never will give you the name of the *genus*, but always that of the *species*. Thus if you point to a tree, and ask for its name, the answer will be oak, beech, chesnut, maple, &c. as the case may be. Thus the Swedish author of the vocabulary that I have mentioned, probably happened to point to a *finger*, when he

* Vocabularium Barbaro-Virgineorum, bound with an Indian translation from the Swedish of Luther's Catechism. Stockholm, 1696, duod.

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114 man's account of natural things about him. Written by a man not a biologist the manuscript could not be other than an honest and in the main conservative account or it would show inconsistencies which could not have been appreciated by its author. No such inconsistencies appear. The chief scientific interest in the manuscript arises from the fact that it depicts conditions before the white settlers came into the Middle West, and before the ax, the rifle and the steel trap had seriously interfered with primitive, natural conditions such as had existed from time immemorial. The changes in the animal and plant life since the author wrote are, of course, most sweeping. The account has its great interest and value because it is the only reliable record of the fauna and flora of the region before such marked changes occurred.

For the opinions expressed and views taken in the footnotes
●113 of this volume, as well as errors therein, the writer is personally responsible.

Zeisberger's published works include the *Diary* above mentioned; *Essay of a Delaware Indian and English Spelling Book for the use of the Schools of the Christian Indians on Muskingum River* (Philadelphia, 1776); *A Collection of Hymns for the use of the Christian Indians, of the Missions of the United Brethren in North America* (Philadelphia, 1803); *Sermons to Children* (Philadelphia, 1803); *Arg. Gottl Spangenberg. Something of Bodily Care for Children* (Philadelphia, 1803); *The History of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ*, by the Rev. Samuel Lieberkühn, M. A. (Tr. by Zeisberger). The above are in the Delaware language. Zeisberger's *Verbal Biegungen der Chippewayer* [Delawaren] was published in Vater's *Analekten der Sprachkunde* (Leipzig, 1821).

Zeisberger's manuscripts are numerous and include *Deutsch und Onondagaisches Worterbuch, Essay toward an Onondaga Grammar, Onondagaische* Grammatica (translated into English by Peter S. Duponcear, LL. D., still in Mss.), *A Grammar of the Lenni-Lenape, or Delaware Indians* (also translated by Dr. Duponcear, in Mss.), *A Dictionary in German and Delaware, Delaware Glossary, Delaware Vocabulary, Phrases and Vocabularies in Delaware, Delaware Grammar, Harmony of the Gos-*

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pels in Delaware, Hymns for the Christian Indians in Delaware, Litany and Liturgies in Delaware, Zeisberger's own Mss. Hymn Book in Delaware, Sermons by Zeisberger in Delaware, Seventeen Sermons to Children, Church Litany in Delaware, Short Biblical Narratives in Delaware, Vocabulary in Maqua and Delaware. The last fourteen *Mss.* were collected by Edward Everett and are preserved in the Harvard University Library; the remaining Zeisberger material is in the Moravian archives at Bethlehem. Here, too, are preserved Zeisberger's diaries and letters covering his long career on the frontier and possessing very great historical value. These include the narration of his arrest in New York, of his journeys with Cammerhoff, Mack and Spangenberg, of his stay at Onondaga, 1755, his journals of 1762-67, including his journal of the trip to the Cayuga town in 1766 and to Goschgoschüng in 1767, the journal of his trip to the Allegheny, 1767-8, and the diaries and letters covering his whole Ohio, Michigan and Canadian experiences, 1771-1808. It is expected to issue a collection of Zeisberger's unpublished diaries, journals and letters as Volume Two of *The Moravian Records.*

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bridge was there. After the Delaware study Trowbridge collected several other sets of answers: two on the Shawnee,[8] one each on the Miami,[9] Kickapoo, and Wyandot, and another on the Delaware with Cass.

This extended notice of Trowbridge's activities is given because it is principally his manuscripts and others that fell into his hands that have been preserved. After Trowbridge resigned in 1825 Cass obtained funds and permission to hire three or four persons to carry on his work. Who these persons were or what they accomplished we do not know.

Previous to Trowbridge's visit to William Conner, John Johnston, Indian agent at Piqua, Ohio, sent Cass an answer on the Shawnee in his own handwriting and one on the Delaware, not in his own hand.[10] A series of answers on the Delaware found among the Trowbridge Papers in the Burton Historical Collection has been tentatively identified as the one submitted by Johnston.[11] Identification of the author will probably never be determined as Johnston did not name the person who compiled the answers he transmitted.

While at Detroit in 1824 Trowbridge and Cass alternated in recording the answers of a Canadian Delaware or Munsee named Captain Chipps. This manuscript of seventy-two pages in the handwriting of Cass and Trowbridge is also among the Trowbridge Papers in the Burton Historical Collection and, in addition, a partial copy in Trowbridge's hand is bound together with a third copy of Pipe's relation.

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[8] See Kinietz, Vernon, and Voegelin, Erminie W. (eds.), *Shawnese Traditions. C. C. Trowbridge's Account* (Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, *Occasional Contributions*, No. 9, Ann Arbor, 1939).

[9] See Kinietz, Vernon (ed.), *Mosšärmoaw Traditions by C. C. Trowbridge* (Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, *Occasional Contributions*, No. 7, Ann Arbor, 1938).

[10] Johnston to Cass, May 10, 1822, The National Archives, Indian Office, Michigan Superintendency, Letterbook, No. 1, 1822, pp. 208-13.

[11] This bears the title, "Answers to the questions proposed in the Pamphlet, By the Delawares and Monsies." On the back of the manuscript in Trowbridge's handwriting is the following endorsement, "Lenĕĕ Lenăŭpaa Traditions &c."

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11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

other people. Yet the individual Delaware is not an ordinary American; he is thought of by the public as an Indian, and he thinks of himself as an Indian. One way in which he can express this Indianness and feel that he is a part of a larger group is to be a peyotist. The peyote cult gives him an opportunity to participate in ceremonies with others who occupy a similar position in American life, and it provides him with an opportunity to express his Indian cultural heritage, however slight it may be. In the meeting just described there were Winnebagos, Sioux, and Shawnees, in addition to the Delawares. This is normal for a Delaware peyote meeting; in fact, their meetings always include members of other tribes. They also frequently attend meetings with the Osage, Quapaw, and others. In short, in earlier times the Delaware Big Moon peyote cult was a religious expression of assimilation and an attempt to preserve something from the shattered cultural past. Today it functions more as a religious symbol of the Indian minority and a rallying point for what has been termed a Pan-Indian society (Newcomb, 1955).

SUMMARY

The arrangement of the tepee and the conduct of Delaware Big Moon peyote meetings has remain d essentially constant since 1930. Over this span of time the Big Mc.n cult has not succeeded in completely replacing the traditional religion, nor has it apparently become any more popular. Probably the greatest changes have occurred in the reasons for the cults' appeal to the Delawares. The modern attractions of the peyote cult are particularly strong in its aspects as an *Indian* ceremony and as a rallying point for Pan-Indianism, rather than in the solace it offers to "a subjugated people."

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155 pulses, particularly aggressive ones, to break out into the open, often with socially catastrophic results.

It should be observed that in many respects this personality portrait of the 171 Delawares is similar to that drawn, from 155 different sources, by A. I. Hallowell for the Indians of the Northeast in general, and more particularly for the Ojibwa.[56] Thus Delaware personality is not markedly distinct from that of other Indians in the area, and a closer analysis than is possible here would probably be required to distinguish it from Ojibwa or other Algonkian peoples of the Northeast.

56. Hallowell, 1946.

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15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
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most noted Baptist preacher" among the Delawares. Charles' brother, Isaac Journeycake, was quite prominent, also. One of Charles Journeycake's daughters, Nannie, married the eldest son of Mr. Pratt, Lucius, in the spring of 1860: "the bride was dressed in white muslin, with veil and orange blossoms, and looked very pretty" (Clara Gowing, "Life Among the Delaware Indians," *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1911–12*, XII, 186–87; *Home Mission Monthly*, Vol. 14, 1892).

In *Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed in the United States* (Washington, D. C., 1894) there are three pictures dealing with Journeycake: (1) a portrait of him alone, 1890 and (2) a photograph of his residence, 1890 (both following p. 296), and (3) photograph of Journeycake with a delegation of Indians in Washington in 1867 (following p. 298).

84. There were many Ketchums among the Indians, not only among the Delawares, from 1830 to 1880 or later. "Captain" Ketchum is listed as a signatory of agreements with white organizations in 1832, 1843, and 1844 (*Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, IX, 204; *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society*, Vol. 16, pp. 735, 761). John Ketchum, Que-sha-to-wha, along with Charles Journeycake and other Delawares signed an agreement with Commissioner George W. Mannypenney in 1854, ceding lands. A James Ketchum was a member of the delegation of Delawares—which included Charles Journeycake and Agent Pratt, also—that went to Washington in 1867; he appears in the group picture mentioned in the previous footnote. In April, 1860, Mr. Pratt and a teacher at the mission drove out "to see chief Ketchum, who was sick." The teacher has left us a vivid picture of Ketchum's residence (Clara Gowing, *op. cit.*, p. 138).

85. From Algonquian Mingwe, "stealthy, treacherous." Used also by whites during the late